

Right and Left Battle for Spain

LAURENCE K. PATTERSON, S.J.

Reprinted from America in the issue of August 8, 1936.

ECONOMIC unrest, political rivalries, anti-clericalism and the malign activities of the Komintern have all contributed to plunge Spain into blood and tears. The main issue is really not Monarchy versus Republic. Hosts of Spanish Catholics who had been loyal to the Crown sincerely accepted the Republic. They hoped for a progressive, tolerant, and truly liberal régime that would redress the economic grievances of urban laborers and of exploited peasants, especially in Andalusia and the South. But the attempt of Azaña and his party to establish a very Left, radical republic along "French" lines precipitated the present crisis. Anti-clericalism held sway in the Cortes; and Azaña failed entirely to check the Red advance toward a Spanish Soviet.

Today Right and Left have locked horns in a terrific battle for the body and soul of Spain. From the turmoil one of the two results seems inevitable. Either the triumphant Right will establish a military dictatorship along the lines of Italian Fascism, or the victorious Left will turn Spain into a Soviet Republic, like the Russian.

Fifteen years ago Lenin, noting certain economic and political analogies between Czarist Russia and Spain, declared that "Spain will become the second Communistic State in Europe!" Trotsky has often predicted that "Europe will burn at both ends." Like Czarist Russia, Spain lacks a large and powerful middle class. Her urban toilers are often exploited, largely illiterate, and a prey to agitation.

The tangled line-up of parties in Spain is confusing to American readers. On the extreme Right are found Carlists or Jaimists, followers of the royal house of Don Carlos and his descendents. *El Siglo Futuro* is their able organ in Madrid. To Carlists Alphonsus was the scion of an usurping dynasty. Carlists, as a class are ardent Catholics. They despise Liberalism in every shape and form. Their ideal is "a Catholic King and a Catholic people."

The Integrists were indifferent to the dynastic question.

They are ardent Catholics, who seek to base their entire social and political program on the most rigid Papal principles. Many Integrists deplore in strong terms the evils of modern industrialism. Their ideal is a Christian Corporative State, based upon the teachings of the *Syllabus* and of "Quadragesimo Anno." Though derided by their critics as fanatical visionaries, the Integrists are in reality Catholic idealists. In the present battle, Carlists and Integrists have merged their forces with the remainder of the Right in its struggle for "fatherland, religion, family, and property."

Alphonsist monarchists, who now seem to regard Prince Juan, the third son of the exiled King as their claimant, come next upon the Right. Under the restoration monarchy (1876-1931) the Alphonsist parties accepted modern progress and the fundamental postulates of the Liberal state. They sought to maintain the Crown, but as a constitutional monarchy. The landed aristocracy, big business, and the Army were the chief pillars upon which the restored monarchy rested. Under the restoration, two great parties of dynastic monarchists ruled Spain. The Conservatives were friendly to the Church, while Liberal Monarchists tended toward anti-clericalism. The strife of parties was largely a sham battle. Spain has never really accepted parliamentary government.

A section of the Right is republican in principle. Gil Robles, organizer of the C. E. D. A. or Catholic Action Party, widespread and powerful in Spain, accepted the Republic. But he himself recently stated that the rising menace of Bolshevism had driven most of his younger adherents into the ranks of Fascism. The Conservative republican element, led by Miguel Maura, sought a Republic tolerant, progressive, and truly liberal. Maura struggled in vain to avert the anti-clerical policy which has largely caused the present struggle.

The only avowed Fascist group before the present crisis was the Spanish Phalanx, led by Primo de Rivera, son of the late dictator. It was outlawed under the law for the defense of the republic. De Rivera seeks to clean up Spain along the lines of Mussolini and Italian Fascism. In the present crisis Fascism doubtless plays a great part. But the common simplification of Fascist versus Communist is an inadequate explanation of the Spanish conflict

The Center need not detain us long. It has been virtually liquidated. Alcalá Zamora sought a republic, progressive but not radical. He strove to abate rabid anti-clericalism, and to promote peaceful and gradual reforms. Spanish moderates have been crushed between the mighty mass movements from Right and Left. The discreet and compromising Liberalism of Alcalá Zamora, De Madariaga, Lerroux, and others, was unable to guide the nation toward a progressive and enlightened bourgeois Republic. Yet many able men are found in the Center.

We pass to the Left, or the Popular Front. Azaña and his Left Republicans represent the radical and anti-clerical section of the bourgeoisie. Freemasonry is a dominating force in this faction. Azaña seeks a better distribution of land and wealth, without social overthrow. His party seeks to impose the *escuela unica*, that is, the school monopoly upon Spain. Free, compulsory, and secular, that is, irreligious education, they regard as the great panacea for social and political evils. The Left Republicans seek to drive the Church into the sacristy and to deprive it of all influence upon social life and education. The utter failure of the Left Republicans to maintain order, to protect churches and convents from arson and pillage, and to check the drive of their allies toward a Red republic, has roused the army and the Right to insurrection.

Spanish Socialism, which controls the powerful U. G. T. (General Union of Workers) is divided into two groups. The moderate wing, led by Besteiro, is evolutionist and hopes for the gradual and peaceful advent of Socialism. But the radical element, led by Largo Caballero, is really Communistic. Caballero promises to the toilers a Spanish Republic of Soviets, *just like Russia*. He seeks to nationalize the land, big industry, banking, commerce, and the railways, through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Though the agents of the Komintern are most active in Spain, the avowedly Communistic faction is rather small. The Soviet seeks to overthrow capitalism in Spain through Socialism and Syndicalism. Anarcho-Syndicalism, which is powerful among the urban proletariat, in the mining region of the Asturias, and among the illiterate and exploited peasant masses of the south, is the utter and violent negation of God, government, family and property. To the Spanish

Syndicalist Lenin himself was semi-reactionary. The bomb, the revolver, and direct action are his chosen means toward social millenium.

Syndicalism despises parliamentary methods, though last February many consented, as a result of Socialistic and Communistic pleading, to vote for the Common Front. At least 1,000,000 Spanish workers and peasant are under the influence of Syndicalism. The outrages upon nuns, the butchering of priests, the burning of churches and convents, the sacrilegious dances in Barcelona churches: these are the fruits of Spanish Syndicalism. The present régime, in its hour of peril, has armed every Anarcho-Syndicalist in Spain.

Spain is really two nations. On the right is found ardent Faith, but also narrowness and greed. On the conquered Common Front stands a second nation from the bourgeois Azaña to the bombers of Barcelona and the Malaga firebrands. Millions of the noblest Catholics in God's Church are found in Spain, but also many are found there whose hatred of Christ is diabolical.

We must face the facts. Millions of Spanish workers, miners, and peasants are fighting with impassioned fury for the Left. In Barcelona and elsewhere women and girls have shared in the struggle. Why are millions of Spanish toilers Red Socialists or Redder Syndicalists? Why do their wives, sisters, and daughters face machine guns in this struggle? Why do Asturian miners and Andalusian peasants fight and die to smash clericalism and capitalism? Why is Spain, within the Leftist lines, a scene of blazing churches and looted convents?

Belloc has answered these queries in dealing with the Barcelona riots of 1909. Masonry is a partial cause, false liberalism is a partial cause, Russian agitation is a partial cause, ignorance is a partial cause. But were millions of the Spanish proletariat not sunk in social misery, these causes would not plunge Spain into blood and tears. Living in slums, exploited in mine and factory, the proletariat have become sheep without a shepherd.

With honorable exceptions the ruling class in Spain ignored the social gospel of Leo XIII and Pius XI. The absentee noble left his peasantry to the tender mercy of bailiffs, and industrialists exploited labor without restraint. *El Siglo Futuro* exclaims: "Social justice must not be a

Marxist watchword." Cardinal Goma, the Primate, declares: "There is lacking the training of the Catholic conscience in what concerns our Christian duties in the social order." Under the old régime, writes Padre Marina, "Catholic Social Action was asphyxiated."

A victory of the Right alone can save Spain from the fate of Russia. A Leftist triumph will unloose upon the Spanish Church the furies of evil. But may the Right use its triumph wisely and with justice. *Reforms must succeed repression.* Millions of Rightists are struggling for the Faith of Spain, the traditions of Spain, for order and justice in Spain. The Right should not seek to re-impose upon the Spanish masses the yoke of ruthless capitalism, or the power of careless and selfish landed aristocracy.

Spain needs a strong ruler who will repress Red Syndicalism and Communism on the Left, but endowed, too, with the courage to face and to liquidate entrenched greed upon the Right. Only violence can meet the Socialist-Communist-Syndicalist menace to Spain at the present time. But violence is not the final answer. The stupid conservative, the ruthless reactionary, the absentee landlord, privileged and greedy vested interests, these must be crushed, as well as Syndicalism and Communism, if Spain is to have true security and lasting peace. Spain cries out to the world: "Neglect, exploitation and oppression of the poor pave the road to revolution and chaos."

Unless society be reorganized on a truly Christian, corporative and distributist basis, the Bolshevik threat can never be finally ended. The real Spanish tragedy is the alienation of the toiling masses, so infinitely dear to His Sacred Heart, from "the Carpenter of Nazareth whose Mother was a village maid." That is the real lesson for us from Spain. We must keep the masses with us by fighting for their rights.

Spanish Insurgents Fighting for Liberty

The facts leading up to the present amazing situation in Spain are of particular interest to the United States.

Specifically they show what happens to a country once it falls into the clutches of Reds.

Elected as the "Champion" of Spanish democracy Largo Caballero and his Socialist Party quickly threw off the mask and established a "Popular Front" government.

Dominated by Communists and anarchists they suppressed all opposition, deposed the moderate President, Alcalá Zamora, and elected the radical Azaña in his stead.

Then began a reign of terror in which hundreds of churches have been burned, thousands of citizens assassinated and the country looted with the avowed purpose of establishing a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

It was then that the army revolted and civil war began.

What has this to do with us?

Only this: the same forces directed from Moscow which established the "Popular Front" in Spain and in France, are hard at work endeavoring to establish a "Popular Front" in the United States.

THREE ARTICLES BY A FORMER SPANISH OFFICIAL

Who Is Now in Spain. Were His Identity Revealed His Family and All of Their Relatives Would Probably Be Assassinated

Reprinted from the New York American.

THE Spanish civil war is beyond doubt the most dramatic event of current history, since the World War and the Russian Revolution. For more than two months, news of embittered battles, aerial bombardments, mass executions and accounts of every kind of horror taking place in Spain have crowded the columns of the newspapers of the United States. A number of articles dealing with different aspects of this almost unprecedented strife, or with its far-reaching national and international consequences, have also been published during this period.

However, no comprehensive study of the Spanish situation as a whole, and of its background, has yet been made, and this is chiefly responsible for some misunderstanding which seems still to prevail among certain portions of the American public. Those not familiar with conditions in Spain prior to the civil war are naturally tempted to think of the recent Spanish events in terms of their own nation. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that even the most current words may have a totally different meaning when applied to different countries. A citizen of the United States, used to the smooth working of the democratic institutions, has more often than not a wrong idea of what democratic government has really meant in Spain for the last five years. Similarly, political parties and organizations bearing identical names have by no means the same aims all over the world.

And last, but not least, the indiscriminatory use of words such as *rebels* and *loyalists*, *Fascists* and *reds*, *insurgent* and *government troops* throw a great deal of confusion in the minds of the average news reader in this country. No wonder that in most cases he assumes that Premier Largo Caballero is the "champion" of Spanish democracy, against a handful of Fascist generals, at the head of a rebellious army.

NO REAL DEMOCRACY

For most American observers, it may prove a revelation that there has been no real democratic government in Spain since the advent of the Republic. It is a fact that the Constitution of 1931 was drafted along democratic lines, but it is equally true that in actual practice it has been no more than a scrap of paper. Very few people in America are aware that in the early days of the new régime, the Spanish Parliament passed the so-called "Act for the Defense of the Republic," which enabled the Executive to keep in suspense the provisions of the Constitution concerning freedom of speech, meeting, association, and press, in order to avoid all possible activities contrary to the Government. The Left parties in power during the first two years of the new régime soon found in this Act a very convenient weapon, not only to counter monarchist activities, but even to suppress any opposition coming from the Republican Right parties.

A VIVID PICTURE

Nobody could conceive in this country the Administration now in power placing a bar on the opposition's speeches and establishing a press censorship to the newspapers during the present Presidential campaign. One cannot find a more vivid picture of how democracy has been understood by Left parties in Spain. It is also to be noticed that an attempt at real democratic government was made only during the short time when the three Right Republican parties were in power. It is also significant that according to reports the leaders of two of them, Melquiades Alvarez and Martinez de Velasco, recently faced a firing squad, and that the leader of the third party, José Maria Gil Robles, after a narrow escape, has sided with the so-called rebels. Another current misunderstanding is to believe that Premier Largo Caballero is a Democrat in the true sense, or that the Spanish Socialist party is now a fairly moderate one, when compared to the radicalism of both Communists and Anarchists. The aims of the Premier Largo Caballero and if his Socialist followers, can be best gathered from the following paragraph taken from a speech delivered by him on the 7th of June last:

Everyone, of us must support the union of all proletarians. Don't we say that we must fight Fascism? That we are going to conquer Power, thus giving satisfaction to the working class? and don't we say as well that the proletarian dictatorship cannot be a dictatorship of the majority? That is just what we are going to do, and that is why it rests on the working class only to establish the proletarian dictatorship.

RED DICTATORSHIP

The establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Spain, and not the preservation of democracy, thus appears to be now the aim of both Mr. Largo Caballero and his Socialist Party. But they were cautious enough to keep this aim concealed until they thought that the moment had arrived. The Spanish Socialist movement had not achieved any considerable strength when General Primo de Rivera established the dictatorship in 1923. Political life was then suspended in Spain, but the Dictator paid much attention to the social problems.

Mr. Largo Caballero was not slow to take advantage of the new state of things. He was appointed a member of the

Royal Council of State, and trade unions were given a great impetus. The result of this was that at the end of Rivera's dictatorship the old political parties were practically inexistent, with the exception of a strong, well-disciplined Socialist Party. This situation enabled the Socialists to play a prominent part in the Municipal elections of 1931, which caused the fall of the monarchist régime and the advent of the Republic.

SWUNG TO LEFT

On this occasion Mr. Largo Caballero had no objection to subscribe to an electoral program promising a very conservative republic, from both the points of view of religious and social reforms. But Socialist help was well needed soon after the establishment of the Republic, for the election of the first Republican Parliament, and Mr. Largo Caballero saw a new opportunity to move forward.

Socialists were given a good share in the Cabinet as well as a large number of seats in the first Republican Parliament, entrusted with the task of drafting the new Constitution. Thus, Socialists were able to inject in the Constitution of 1931 several radical provisions concerning the Church, Church property, Religious Orders, religious education, and expropriation of property for social purposes, together with so many others that in point of fact it made the new Republic far from being the conservative régime promised only some months before in the electoral platform.

After that, the Socialists, holding the key portfolios of education and justice, concentrated their attention on the religious field, especially on its education aspects. They launched a well-planned campaign of religious persecution without being worried by the strong Christian reaction which such policy was necessary to raise in the old-aged and deep-rooted religious feelings of the Spanish people, for as we have pointed out before, the excuse of the Defense of the Republic Act provided them, as long as they were in power, with the means of crushing any political opposition. They were proud of saying: "Spain is no longer a Christian country." But the elections of November, 1933, giving a large majority to the Center and Right parties, showed how far this was from true. Consequently, they changed tactics.

After the elections, a Center Cabinet was formed with the support of the Right parties and it was only in October, 1934, that the latter were given some portfolios. This was the signal for the outbreak of the bloody revolution of Asturias led by the Socialist party allied to other Leftist parties, which was eventually crushed by the Government. The Socialists realized then that their new revolutionary methods had no chance of success at that time, at least against a Government of Right parties resting upon a loyal army. Therefore, their tactics underwent another change.

THE REAL AIMS

However, before we deal with the formation of the Popular Front, which was their immediate aim after the Asturias revolution, it is good to make clear which were the real aims of that unsuccessful uprising. Public opinion was made to believe at the time, that what the October, 1934, revolutionary movement had in mind, was to substitute a Leftist Party Government, for the then existing Center Right Cabinet, in order to "re-establish the true Republic." The slogan of the Left and Socialist parties ever since 1933 has been "restoration of the true Republic," by which it was meant that the Right Republican parties were not considered as really Republican. The real aim of the revolution of October, 1934, has been disclosed only after the formation of the Popular Front Government in Spain, which took place on the 16th of February last. On this subject it is worth quoting the following paragraph from an article published in the Socialist newspaper *Advance*:

What we have to emphasize is that the revolutionary movement was not started because the President of the Republic had called Mr. Gil Robles (Right leader) instead of Mr. Azaña (Left leader), but because it was thought that an attempt to seize the Government could be possible under these special circumstances. The movement occurred at the same time that Mr. Gil Robles was to be given a share of the Cabinet, simply because revolutions always take place in connection with some outstanding event of the régime against which they are started, as such event is likely to facilitate the success, in the opinion of the leaders of the revolt.

The proletarians from Asturias, together with their brothers throughout Spain took arms in October, in order to overthrow a capitalistic government and put in its stead a government of workers. Their aim was by no means to substitute the Republican Government for another Republican Government.

Open Terrorism Made Spain Red

AT the end of 1935, the dissolution of the Second Republican Parliament was decreed, and new parliamentary elections were called for February 16, 1936. The Socialist Party succeeded in the formation of an electoral front combining all the Leftist elements of the country and other parties to whom long sought for political concessions had been promised, in case of victory. The Front consisted of the Republican Left parties, the Socialists, the Communists and the Anarchists, together with the Basque and Catalan Autonomist parties.

SLIGHT MAJORITY

The elections gave a slight majority of seats to the Popular Front, though it is to be observed that, taking the country as a whole, the Right and Center parties gained about 200,000 votes more than their opponents, this result being due to the different size of the constituencies, because the Electoral Act, drafted by the Socialists at the beginning of the Republic, gave a larger number of seats per number of votes, to the constituencies of the industrial zones, than to those of the agricultural districts. As soon as the news of the electoral victory was known, Socialists, Communists and Anarchists started to exteriorize their "joy." This "joy," as they called it, took the form not only of huge parades in the streets headed by red flags, but of acts of violence culminating generally in the burning of churches; Right political clubs and newspapers, murders of priests and nuns, as well as of Right leaders.

PLOT AGAINST RIGHT

The real aim of the Popular Front, as soon as it took over the government, was to make it impossible for the Right parties to return to power. Their leaders did not conceal that the rotational system of parties in power had come to an end. From this moment there could only be Leftist Cabinets and Leftist policies, the Right parties to be excluded from the government of Spain forever.

The Popular Front tactics to this end were a combina-

tion of government and mob coercions. As we are going to deal at so some length with "street pressure" it is proper at this time to recall that the disturbances occurring after the victory of the Popular Front not only were not checked by the new Government, but they increased as a result of the release, under an Amnesty Act, of the most extremist elements who were serving different terms for their participation in the revolution of October, 1934, together with that of some other common criminals who were in jail at the time. The next step of the Popular Front Cabinet was to insure a majority in the Parliament, strong enough to be in a position to pass any bill and to make the opposition powerless.

LITTLE DIFFERENCE

We have seen that they had only a few seats more than the Right and Center parties, but as the new elected Spanish Parliament had to decide for itself as to validity of the elections in each constituency, the slight majority was enough to vote the nullity of the elections in those constituencies where the Right parties had returned a majority of the seats. Thus, new elections had to be held in many constituencies, and by the use of all sort of violence and "street pressure" they succeeded in altering the previous set-up. The result of this was that after these partial elections, the Popular Front majority was considerably enlarged, and the parties of the opposition proportionately weakened.

Then came the turn of the President of the Republic, Alcalá Zamora, who was considered to be too moderate. He was deposed by Parliament, with evident breach of the procedure laid down by the Constitution for cases of presidential responsibility, and Mr. Azaña, who had been the Premier of the Popular Front Cabinet, was elected in his stead. There were also slow but steady changes made in the State personnel, and wholesale changes in the Army and Navy, the air forces, the police troops and Civil Guard forces. The judiciary was also given special attention in order to have judges ready to be tolerant with the agitators and with the consequences of "street pressure." No department was spared in the so-called "republicanization," which amounted to no less than to place all State services under control of sympathizers of the Popular Front.

On the other hand, all kind of pressure was made on the employers, to force them to dismiss any worker who did not belong to the Socialist and Communist parties. The workers, therefore, faced the alternative of being put out of their jobs, or joining those parties against their will. The result of this campaign was a great increase in the membership of those political organizations, with the corresponding rise in the weekly contribution toward their funds.

RED MILITIA OUT

Moreover, Red militia could be seen in the Madrid suburbs and everywhere in the provinces openly getting military instruction. This picture of the political life in Spain after the electoral victory of the Popular Front would be incomplete if we did not deal with the so-called "street pressure" on some detail. The "street pressure," created by the extreme parties of the Popular Front, that is Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, was directed on one hand to crush all opposition coming from Right quarters, and on the other hand, to force the Government forward on their revolutionary aims. The milder forms of "street pressure" consisted of mass demonstrations in the streets, and strikes of all sorts. The violent "street pressure" took the form of burning churches and political newspapers and clubs, accompanied by assault on individuals for religious or political reasons. Their immediate objective was to keep the country under a constant state of agitation and disorder.

STREET PRESSURE

Other forms of "street pressure" were regular hold-ups of tourists and motorists irrespective of nationality, who were stopped by armed Socialists and Communists on the Spanish highways and allowed to proceed their journey only after having contributed with a more or less considerable amount of money to what they called the "Red Relief Fund." The Popular Front contended that Right elements were responsible for the violence going on in Spain. They claimed that the "priests themselves" were setting the churches afire, and in other cases while celebrating religious festivities even within the walls of the church, they said it was a provocation to them. As far as the attitude of the Government was concerned towards this violence, it would be illustrative to re-

call that the Church of Saint Luis in Madrid was burned to ashes by the mob in spite of the fact that the barracks of the Police Troops were only about 300 yards away, and no attempt was made by them to provide access to the Fire Brigade.

OTHER ATROCITIES

Here are some statistics which figure in the Spanish Parliament Record: From February 16th until July 15th, that is, five months, we must credit the "street pressure" with the total or partial burning of 420 churches, 43 newspapers, raids on 393 political centers, 330 persons murdered, 1,511 wounded, 215 frustrated assaults, 178 holdups, 113 general strikes, 357 partial strikes, 300 explosions of bombs, and 78 attempts of bombing which failed.

Thus did an "established government" safeguard public order!

Spanish Radicals Plotted Revolt

PEOPLE, outside the Popular Front sympathizers, were far from confident after the elections of February 13th, that any constructive program for the good of the country would emerge from such a union of parties with conflicting programs and aims. This conflict made friendship by no means good between Socialists and Communists on one hand, and Syndicalists and Anarchists on the other, and even among the different shades of Socialists. The Socialist leader, Indalecio Prieto, now Minister of the Navy, was bodily assaulted by Socialists of the Largo Caballero faction at a meeting in Cordoba, because he asked the Government to stop violence in order to develop a constructive policy. The newspapers, *El Socialista* of Prieto and *Claridad* of Largo Caballero, violently attacked one another. It was realized that what the Popular Front Government really intended, was to set up a government of the Left factions on a permanent basis.

SPAIN DEEPLY RELIGIOUS

The Popular Front Government policy was against the religious sentiments of the population, for Spain was, and still is, one of the strongholds of Christianity and one of the countries where a deep-rooted religious turn of mind is most visible in our day. Spanish patriotism was shaken when uttering the traditional "Long Live Spain" was severely punished, while "Long Live Red Russia," "Long Live Stalin" were admitted and even encouraged.

There was discontent among the producing classes, agricultural and industrial, who could not stand the financial strains caused by strikes and the growing demands of the Socialist and Communist parties. There was discontent amongst the working class against the tyrannical policy of Socialists and Communists who were forcing employers to bar all workers who did not belong to their party. A growing opposition to the Government was gradually building itself up from all social classes, on religious, political and economic grounds. It was an unorganized opposition, due to the short time in which events were taking place, and to the strict press censorship, prohibition of speeches and meetings, and wholesale arrests of non-sympathizers, etc., but in spite of it all, there were clear indications that this opposition would not easily be subdued.

CRITICISM IGNORED

In Parliament, two leaders were conspicuous by their representations to the Government: Gil Robles and Calvo Sotelo. The constructive criticism of the latter was a continual source of fear for the Government, as he was the most experienced and the best prepared of the members of Parliament, in social and public finance matters, having held the office of Minister of Finance during the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.

There was in June some distant hope that their warning speeches would convince the Republican Government of the danger of letting the extremists go out of hand, especially after Largo Caballero, head of the Socialist and Communist Youth Association, had declared that the proletarian dictatorship was their immediate aim. It was known that the Government intended to modify Parliament regulations so

that it would meet only occasionally, thus freeing the Executive from the legislative control.

In this tense atmosphere, leader Calvo Sotelo was assassinated on July 13th by uniformed troops of the Shock Police who removed him forcibly from his home at the early hours of the day, and shot him later. The Government hushed the matter as best they could, but instead of prosecuting the murderers, there followed the arrest of hundreds of "Fascists," the Popular Front applying indiscriminately this term to all opponents, regardless of their political ideas. Five days later, on July 18th, the Nationalist movement broke out, heartily welcomed by all citizens who had been so tyrannically oppressed by the Popular Front. Had the movement begun some days later, most of the Army officers would have been dismissed and all political leaders of the opposition either murdered or imprisoned. Besides, the Socialists and Communists had a revolution of their own in store, which was scheduled to take place first on May 11th, then postponed for June 29th, and finally set for July 31st.

Abundant evidence of the above has been gathered now from prisoners taken by the Burgos Government. Plans of the revolt were carefully laid down for the capture of the most strategical points in each town, and there was also a "black list" of citizens to be shot. Also the names of the persons scheduled to form the Central and local Soviets, and it is significant that a number of the People's Commissars now hold portfolios in the present Government.

DICTATORSHIP PLOT

Premier Largo Caballero is committed by his own previous speeches and activities to the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship along the lines of Soviet Russia. There is nobody on the Madrid side who can stop him from doing so. He has thoroughly worked out the remains of the opposition by "purging" the State machinery and by keeping active the People's Court and the firing squads of militiamen, and on the other hand it is now the Red militia who is the only disciplined and well trained force in the territory controlled by his Socialist-Communist Government. Every day we read in the papers how Spain is being rapidly "Sovietized," how all churches have been seized for non-

religious purposes, and how industries, Spanish and foreign, have been put under State control.

Only one other course of events may be foreseen: the Anarchist-Syndicalist group take the upper hand after the victory. The stronghold of the Socialist Party is Madrid, but it has been witnessed during the months of June and July, on the occasion of the buildings strike how a minority can prevail upon a larger number of not-so-determined individuals. It would not be too risky to predict that even under Largo Caballero Communism in Spain along the lines of Soviet Russia would be short-lived, and that an Anarchist experiment would soon take its place.

If the Provisional Government of General Cabanellas wins, things will be very different. There is no parallel with what happened in Germany and Italy, where the Nazi and Fascist parties were organized to fight Communism, and succeeded in getting power, and in carrying out a program laid down in advance. There is no doubt that this would have eventually happened in Spain, in spite of the obstacles put by the Government, but the murder of Calvo Sotelo placed the Spaniards in the same situation as that of a man whose house suddenly takes fire. He has to run for safety without thinking at the time how he is going to build a new one. We do not find anything better, anything more appropriate than to call it a Christian-National movement. They all have in common two main ideals: the defense of the Christian faith against atheism and its inroads in the field of family and education, and the defense of the integrity and independence of the country against those who prefer to be the slaves of the Red dictators.

Some Facts About Spain

A STOUNDING revelations recently made in the French Chamber of Deputies should open the eyes of the world to the true state of affairs in Spain. Deputy M. Frederick Dupont, a Nationalist representative from Paris, delivered a telling address against the present Spanish Government. He excoriated the Leftist leaders for their participation in and abetment of the inhuman atrocities perpetrated against innocent people. The deputy characterized the Government as "too inhuman to allow anyone to consider it civilized."

He declared that not less than 15,000 priests and nuns, and no fewer than 25,000 secular persons, holding other political views, had been executed, even barbarously tortured to death by these fanatical anti-clerics. M. Dupont did not stop at mere unfounded assertions, but he enumerated definite places, the exact number of persons murdered, and read the sworn testimony of eye-witnesses. He further confirmed his assertions with photographs taken from scenes he had enumerated, and placed these together with the written testimony at the disposition of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "so that," he asserted, "no one may accuse me of exaggeration." It is time that the people of this country awaken to the realization that a fiercely-fanatical, God-hating group of Moscow-inspired leaders are trampling under foot the privileges, the rights and liberties of a great Christian people, while at the same time they are endeavoring to hood-wink us here across the water into believing that they are fighting the cause of "democratic Spain."

How any believer in democracy can doubt about the side he must espouse in the present civil crisis in Spain seems almost beyond comprehension. The argument usually adduced is that both sides are guilty of such atrocities that there is little to choose between them. This is the attitude in general of most Americans. Yet the only excuse for such an attitude is ignorance of the actual state of affairs and of the principles at stake. Unfortunately for the cause of the Nationalists their case has not been championed in the

press and before the world at large. They lack an efficient publicity bureau to broadcast the facts and the justice of their side. We hear little or nothing of the sixty-five per cent of the Spanish population who are living peacefully under the Nationalist régime. True, they are represented as being tyrannically ground down by Moorish "barbarians" and a "band of desperados" known as Foreign Legionnaires. And though it has been shown that the Franco army, now concentrated about Madrid, is not large enough to spread its activities effectively over the whole region, still the myth persists that only the bloody hand of the "Dictator" holds them in check. Yet it can be stated without hesitation that if a plebiscite were held today, not less than 6,000,000 of the little over 9,000,000 votes cast in February of the past year would be in favor of the Nationalist cause. Nor is there anything remarkable in this. The people of Spain voted on July 18th when they refused any longer to submit to a government that had allowed chaos to prevail and that was aiming to snatch away their freedom and their God.

Presented herewith are plain statements of fact about the Left and the Right parties in Spain. We recommend thoughtful consideration of these statements to the editors of the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Christian Century* and similarly inclined periodicals which profess to be truth-seeking. We fling them at the Communist propagandists who are sedulously distorting the facts in their publications. *First.* The parties of the Left have polled a *minority* of the total votes in every election that has been held since the promulgation of the new Constitution. *Second.* The parties of the Left, after having been defeated by the popular vote, resorted to the October Revolution, 1934. *Third.* The extreme parties of the Left have, without ceasing, persecuted the Moderate parties of both the Left and the Right, and have endeavored by all means to exterminate the Moderate and Liberal parties. *Fourth.* Dependent on the results of the February elections in Spain of this year, the parties of the Left planned a revolutionary coup that was scheduled, at first, for May 11th, then for June 29th, and finally for the end of July. *Fifth.* The Nationalist uprising on July 18th, led by General Franco, was a counter-revolution, a defen-

sive revolution. *Sixth.* The civil war in Spain is being waged by two revolutionary parties: the real revolutionists are Spanish Communists, who are ruled and controlled by Moscow; the counter-revolutionists are the Spanish Nationalists, who are not dominated by any representatives of any foreign powers.

Seven airplanes, we have been informed, were shipped from New York on December 26th, to the Spanish Communist forces. License was granted by the State Department for the further shipment to the Valencia-Barcelona administration of eighteen complete airplanes, 411 completely assembled airplane-engines, and parts sufficient to make 150 additional engines. The United States is now being involved in the Spanish civil war through munition shipments as it has already been involved through the participation of American citizens in the Leftist army. Our established policy of neutrality, our protestations in favor of peace at home and abroad are being endangered. Unless President Roosevelt and Congress act immediately and decisively, the United States will be embroiled as hotly as Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Great Britain in the Spanish catastrophe. There is a loophole in our neutrality legislation. Let this loophole be plugged at once. Let not American bullets pierce Spanish hearts; let not American airplanes bomb Spanish earth; let not American citizens serve actively in Spanish armies. Strong pressure is being placed upon our Government by Communist and Socialist groups to permit the export to Spain of war materials for the use of the Communist forces. Pseudo-pacifists are asserting that such exports are guarantees of future peace. Deceptive propagandists are abroad through the country striving to rouse up sympathy and enthusiasm for the destroyers of Spanish democracy. Money is being collected in large amounts for bandages, medicines for the wounded Reds, and milk for their children. Would that this money be devoted to such humanitarian purposes! But there is far more money already collected than is needed for a war-afflicted population triple that of Spain. Not only should the President and Congress keep us out of the Spanish war, but they should investigate how far we have already been involved in it.